

OCT 3 1963

Approved For Release 1999/09/07 : CIA-RDP75-00001R000200220037-2

## CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — SENATE

1953

1963

its lack of sympathy for a free competitive economy has been made abundantly clear.

The current administration is pessimistic. It believes that economic growth can only come through bureaucratic growth and heavyhanded bureaucratic controls. They fear the people spending their own money and argue that Government should spend more and more of it for them.

The current administration plans deficits. Republicans seek to end them. Republicans believe, as their declaration of principles states, in "a thorough overhaul of the tax system to encourage production, build jobs, and promote savings and investment." But they believe also that economic responsibility must couple that with a halt to the upward spiral of Federal spending, especially for nondefense purposes.

We have spelled out a guiding principle here and I will quote it directly: "We believe that government must prudently weigh needs against resources, put first things first, rigorously tailor means to ends, and understand the difference between words and deeds. The future will be built by those who work for it—not by those who only promise it."

The currency of this Nation, upon which the security of homes and families is based, is no plaything to Republicans. It is a prime responsibility, needing stability, not political whimsy.

At every point these Republican principles point a way far different from the New Frontier's, with its fear of the people and love of power.

What does our statement of principle say of health care and education? All Americans should heed it well. It is no feeble echo of New Frontier nonsense. It is exemplary of the basic difference in our approaches, the basic difference between hand-held power and individually held responsibility.

"Republicans seek to preserve the system that has provided the highest quality of hospital and medical care available anywhere on earth. We reject attempts to run a legislative bulldozer through the structure of voluntary health insurance and private medicine. Effective tax relief for medical and hospital insurance should be given to all."

The same Republican approach is clear in the field of education. Rejecting schemes that would substitute Federal direction for local or private control of our schools, we urge a course that is closest to the people, most responsive to their needs, most responsible of their freedom.

Our declaration says that "tax relief should be given to those who bear the burden of financing education for themselves for others."

Of public assistance programs we say that they should put "a floor over the pit of poverty, never a ceiling on personal achievement. They should strive to equip individuals to become self-supporting. The qualified recipient, as well as the taxpayer, must be protected from the abuse of welfare funds."

In the area of Federal-State relations, the whole great area of the Federal system, our principles are clear and challenge clearly the effrontery of the New Frontier. We believe in the Federal system of balanced powers and the prevention of centralization of power. The New Frontier distrusts the Federal system and moves everywhere to weaken it.

It is New Frontiersmen who attack the Congress most violently, damning it for doing its job, demanding that it become a rubber-stamp for the Executive.

It is New Frontiersmen who scoff at the State houses of this Nation, denying them credit for the ability to solve their problems or denying them the opportunity.

It was a New Frontiersman, Senator JOSEPH E. CLARK of Pennsylvania, who downgraded the Congress in the most astounding fashion I have ever heard of. He said in a recent article—and I quote:

"The legislatures of America, local, State and National are presently the greatest menace to the successful operation of the democratic process."

It is Republicans who stand foremost in their dedication to a Federal system based upon 50 great States and one great Constitution.

Federal, to Republicans, means all of us—means the responsibility and the means to act when and only when the people cannot be adequately served by State or local governments. Federal, to the New Frontier means unprecedented peacetime concentrations and uses of power to mold and force, to bend and break; not to serve but to silence and command.

Republicans believe in the individual's right and capacity to govern himself—to set his own goals—to make his way to them without the restraints of regimentation. That, too, is a Republican principle for all to hear and all to heed.

We Republicans believe that Americans consent to be governed. We do not elect to be ruled.

In foreign policy, Republican principles are no mish-mash of promises to be broken under every pressure of negotiation. They are guidelines for a world of open societies, secure in freedom, blessed by peace with justice. Such principles can inspire men. Lesser ones can but confuse them as they now are confused.

Let me quote these principles too, for all Republicans can be proud of them, all Americans can be proud of them, and the whole world could be inspired by them.

"The world cannot permanently endure part Communist and part free. In a world dominated by communism, liberty would become a luxury which Americans could not afford. Republicans believe that this Nation which has, under God, proclaimed liberty throughout the land, must now dedicate its strength to proclaiming freedom throughout the world.

"In foreign policy, the overriding national goal must be victory over communism through the establishment of a world in which men can live in freedom, security, and national independence. There can be no real peace short of it.

"An active strategy aimed at victory does not increase the risk of nuclear war. Weakness and irresolution on the part of the United States—which could lead the Communists to underestimate the intensity of the devotion of free men to their freedom—are more likely to bring the world to hot war than are strength and firmness.

"American strategy should be tested by this standard: If it advances the cause of freedom, do it. If it injures that cause, reject it."

What has the New Frontier to offer in that area? It has the wall in Berlin. It has the slow takeover of Laos. It has the Bay of Pigs. It has chaos in Vietnam. It has the drying shell of what was once the mightiest alliance for peace and freedom ever forged, NATO. It has new enemies and few good neighbors in Latin America. It has in short, failure and fear where, under Republicans, we had known forthrightness, hope, and confidence.

Americans must be disillusioned by the defaults at home and the disarray abroad. The whole world must be dismayed. Only our enemies can be comforted by the world picture painted in the arid and barren policies of the New Frontier, the new wasteland of American will. Munich also was such a frontier of folly and a waste of hope.

History and destiny watch us today but could discard us tomorrow should we fail to respond, not simply react, to the challenge both have placed before us.

I love this land and I believe in its future and its people. The institutions of freedom have been worth dying for and remain worth living for.

There is a new mood in this land that clearly calls upon us to say these things and do these deeds for which Republican principles, Republican experience, Republican dedication befit us.

The history of liberty, it has been said, is a history of the limitation of government power, not the increase of it. It is such a turn in the history of liberty that must concern us at home.

The history of liberty also is a history of resistance to tyranny and its overthrow. It is such a turn in the history of liberty that must concern us everywhere in the world.

Those whom we will oppose in 1964 have defaulted their leadership to turn the tide against tyranny abroad. And they have rejected limited government at home. They stand naked in the indictment of basic principle no matter how well they may be by acquiescent slogans and false promises.

America must have a choice and freedom must be a chance. Republican principles, Republican candidates offer the choice, give the chance, and reaffirm the right of the people of this God-blessed Nation to reclaim the powers they are losing, to rededicate the will they are wasting, and to win the peace for which they are praying.

## THE UNITED STATES IS BUYING BOTH BUTTER AND GUNS FOR AGGRESSOR NATIONS—WE MUST STOP IT NOW

Mr. GRUENING. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the names of the junior Senator from New Jersey [Mr. WILLIAMS], the junior Senator from Connecticut [Mr. RIBICOFF], and the junior Senator from Ohio [Mr. YOUNG] be added as cosponsors of my amendment number 231 to the Foreign Assistance Authorization Act, which I am now about to discuss.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. McGOVERN in the chair). Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. GRUENING. Mr. President, one of the amendments to the Foreign Assistance Act—H.R. 7885—amendment 231, which I have submitted on behalf of myself, Mr. JAVITS, Mr. MOSE, Mr. CASE of New Jersey, Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey, Mr. RIBICOFF, and Mr. YOUNG of Ohio, would deny assistance to any nation which the President determines is engaging in or preparing for aggressive military efforts directed against the United States or any nation receiving aid from the United States.

This is a perfectly simple amendment based on a perfectly simple principle. Its adoption would strengthen the bill and will enhance the repute, prestige, and good name of the United States.

Our military assistance is given to enable a friendly foreign nation to be strong enough militarily to defend itself against aggression. Our military aid is not being given to enable any nation to become a military aggressor.

Our economic assistance is given to help an undeveloped friendly country